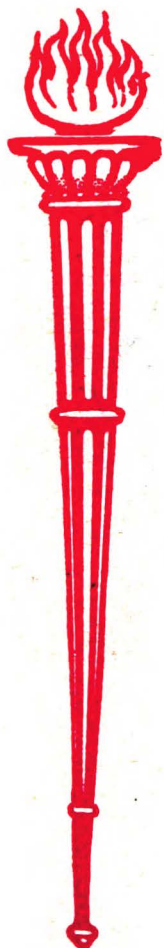


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no 1

THE VANGUARD

SEPTEMBER, 1903



GOD has ordered all things to be produced, so that there should be food in common to all, and that the earth should be a common possession to all. Nature, therefore, has produced a common right for all, but greed has made it a right for a few.

—*St. Ambrose.*

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Edited by J. M. A. SPENCE



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The great merit of Marx, therefore, lies in the work he has done as a scientific inquirer into the economic movement of modern times, as the philosophic historian of the capitalistic era.—Encyclopædia Britannica



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The VANGUARD

"And where the vanguard camps today, the rear shall rest tomorrow."

VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY, WIS., SEPTEMBER, 1903.

NO. 1.

In the twentieth century war will be dead, the scaffold will be dead, royalty will be dead, and dogmas will be dead; but Man will live. For all there will be but one country—that country the whole earth; for all there will be but one hope—that hope the whole heaven.—*Victor Hugo.*

Concerning the apathy of "good" people in the face of a giant social wrong, Wendell Phillips once remarked: "Thoughtlessness is the curse of the age; once get people to thinking and the country is safe." The mission of THE VANGUARD is to get people to think. Help us by giving our subscription list a big boost this month.

A Scotch woman, when asked if she believed in supralapsarianism, replied: "I dinna ken what that is, but if its the doctrine of the kirk I'll maintain it." How many religious dogmas and political fallacies are maintained in just this way? People cling to superstitions and party policies of which they comprehend little or nothing, which have no vital meaning in the life of today and only serve to clog the wheels of progress

Senator Hanna is out against Socialism, declaring it to be "unpatriotic and un-American." Gently, brother Hanna, gently. "Patriotism," you know, "is the last refuge etc." Remember also the words of our strenuous President: "There are plenty of scoundrels always ready to bolster up existing iniquities, in the name of Americanism."

Speaking of Socialism as "an importation from Europe" suggests the inquiry, What laws and customs have we that are not importations from Europe? How many "white" people have we who are not, after, all importations? Where did the Hanna stock come from? We are a pretty bad

lot, to be sure, but let us not forget "the rock whence we are hewn and the pit whence we are digged."

Andrew Carnegie says: "The greatest discovery of my life is that the men who do the work never get rich." Socialism declares that men should work for what they get and should get what they earn. Its motto is: "Every one according to his deeds." This is the way the Detroit Daily Times puts it: "Socialism is making tremendous strides among civilized nations, primarily for the reason that it stands for honesty among men."

Commenting on Gov. La Follette's speech at Chautauqua, a portion of which we print elsewhere, the Springfield Republican says: It is interesting to note that this republican view coincides with that of the democratic, ex-Secretary Olney, who in 1900 spoke of government in the United States as having become "syndicated." But how are views like these to find room on a platform of "stand pat" and "let well enough alone"? He is more likely to receive a call to get out of the party.

A Congregational minister of this state writes to the editor: "To me it seems as though Christianity stands half paralyzed, waiting for a stupid blundering world to adopt the principles of Socialism and thereby co-operate with God in establishing that for which the centuries have prayed." Good! Another preacher has got his eyes open. When he is fully

awake he will see things more clearly. Seems to us that the world is waiting for a "stupid blundering" so-called Christianity to adopt the teachings of Jesus which applied to industry spell Socialism. But the majority of church members stand "paralyzed" under the lash of capitalism, too cowardly to assert the principles they profess.

BE A MAN

To praise the deeds of our grandfathers in their heroic stand for principle requires little effort and no courage. But to be true to conviction, to side with the unpopular righteous cause, A. D. 1903, in our own city and state means something. And it is our attitude towards present-day issues, not those long since dead, that tells what stuff we are made of. Hypothetical virtue is a cheap commodity. Historical patriotism is a "safe" performance. It is easy to applaud the abstract right, while to cheer at the mention of some past triumph gives one a comfortable feeling of merit. But it takes a MAN to square himself with conscience and take his stand unequivocally on the side of justice and liberty when it involves actual loss, personal hardship and the scorn of "respectable" society. It takes a MAN to do what Alexander M. Stirton, a prominent Methodist pastor of Michigan, has just done in declaring for Socialism in the following language:

"I am taking this step because it is impossible to be sane and not revolt, be sane and be silent, be sane and not take my place shoulder to shoulder with my comrades, the toilers, in the fight to overthrow the capitalist system. I am not making a sacrifice by giving up my easy life, comforts, friends and social connections. These things mean nothing to me in the face of my own present slavery and the control of the sources of life by organized greed. I do not expect the

gratitude of the toilers for taking up their fight. It is my fight and I must fight to be a man."

These are noble words.

Little wonder that Socialism is making rapid progress. The reason is found in the righteous principles for which it stands and the unselfish aims of its workers. Born of a passion for justice and brotherhood, it calls forth courage and devotion such as characterize no other movement of the age. It is the spirit of true MANHOOD that is inspiring those who are carrying the standard of the Co-operative Commonwealth to certain victory.

It takes a MAN to be a Socialist.

OUR MAGAZINE

The continuous and increasing demand for THE VANGUARD since our last issue indicates the strong hold which our magazine has upon its readers. Some of our friends evidently overlooked the announcement that there would be but one issue for June-July and one for August-September. But more of them have been at work with the result that our subscription list has received a splendid increase. Thanks to each and all! We have decided not to suspend publication again during the summer vacation, so that all our subscribers will receive twelve numbers for the year's subscription.

During the past year, THE VANGUARD, like all new magazines, was largely an experiment and its fate uncertain. But that stage has now been passed. WE ARE IN THE FIELD TO STAY. Our circulation is steadily increasing in every State in the Union; and from all parts of the country the comrades write that they find THE VANGUARD of great service in awakening thought and introducing people to Socialism. We are tempted to print some of these let-

ters but space will not permit. Suffice that our magazine appears to fill a place otherwise unoccupied in the movement. Its tone, contents and attractive make-up appeal strongly to a large constituency and make it invaluable in the propaganda of Socialism.

Again we ask our energetic friends to lend a hand. Let each one try to send at least one subscription a week, four a month. This will require but little effort, and the sum total will mean much for human enlightenment and liberty. Keep up the good work and we will do our best to make THE VANGUARD stronger and more worthy of support than ever.

SUGGESTION

The opposition of so-called "orthodox" teachers has always been the greatest obstacle to progress. This is as true in the healing art as in any branch of science. There has never been any real advance in the medical profession that has not been fought to the bitter end by the "regulars" because it conflicted with their pre-conceived theories.

The most notable instance of this in recent times is seen in regard to Mental Science, Suggestion, Hypnotic Healing, Faith Cure or whatever the healing aspect of the New Thought may be termed. The name matters little; the same law operates in all phases of the Metaphysical movement. Blind prejudice and bitter antagonism have characterized the medical profession where there should have been open-minded earnest investigation. But we are glad to note a great change of late in the attitude of physicians toward psychic healing. The doctors are beginning to recognize and employ Suggestive Therapeutics in their regular practice, while the medical journals are

discussing the subject with freedom and favor.

We are pleased to announce that we have arranged for a valuable series of articles on Suggestion and kindred topics by A. C. Halphide, M. D., of Chicago, to begin in our next issue. Dr. Halphide is a liberal minded and progressive physician, and is the author of several able works on this subject. He will go over the ground in a concise plain fashion. His articles will be interesting and instructive and our readers will find much material for thought therein.

"THE GRAFTERS"

In the Saturday Evening Post of Aug. 22, under the above heading, Wood Norton describes the wholesale corruption and public robbery that prevail at Washington. The article is illustrated by a picture of Uncle Sam being "held up" by two well-dressed "prosperous" looking "gentlemen." After showing up the methods of the officials who get "rake-offs" on contracts and the politicians who use the Government to pay their political debts, Mr. Norton sums up the situation in these startling sentences:

"It may be disheartening to the honest citizen out of politics, to the man with the good of his country at heart, to contemplate the fact that the trail of graft is over the politics of the country."

"Graft is the basis of politics. Graft is the lifeblood of politics. Graft controls, dominates, sways. Hairs can be split about terms. Protests can be made. Hands can be held up in horror. Individuals can proclaim they are free from the taint; but analyze it, sift it, dissect it, and back of it all, under it all, when hypocrisy is cleared and men tell the truth, is, graft, graft, graft."

Such is the showing our capitalist system makes, the only showing it could make, for capitalism is essentially a system of graft, essentially DISHONEST. It means wealth filched from those who produced it. That this may be done by "legal" or "business" methods only makes matters worse, showing how capitalism has corrupted legislation and demoralized business. The remedy for graft is to be found only in cutting down the capitalistic tree upon which it grows. Under Socialism there will be "no incentive" to graft.

The Trend of Thought

Governor Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin.

Taxation without representation is as much a crime against just and equal government in 1903 as it was in 1776. Government by corporations is as destructive of the liberties of the people of this country as the exercise of the same power by a foreign monarch. The arbitrary control of the price of coal and iron, and corn, and wheat, and beef—whether by an extortionate transportation rate, or by a monster combination, is a more absolute tyranny of the American people than quartering the army of King George upon the American colonists without their consent. There can be no such thing as commercial slavery and individual freedom. We may have the privilege of the ballot, we may have the semblance of democracy, but industrial servitude means political servitude. Monopoly in transportation and coal and iron and the food products, makes a pretense and a mockery of political freedom.

Let us see if the time be not ripe for a new declaration of American Independence. We are building up colossal fortunes, granting unlimited power to corporate organization, and consolidating and massing together business interests as never before in the commercial history of the world, but the people are losing control of their own government. Its foundations are being sapped and its integrity destroyed. 'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' What shall it profit a nation if it gain untold wealth, and its people lose their liberty?

The gravest danger menacing republican institutions today is the overbalancing control of city, state and national legislatures, by the wealth and power of public service corporations.

The coal trust bears harder even upon the unfortunate, helpless labor that mines the product at a wage level of a generation ago than upon the consumers who are just beginning to feel the burden of its increasing oppression. Its utter indifference and contempt for the constitutional and statutory law, for public opinion, and wide-spread want and suffering should awaken in the people of this free country the spirit which framed the Declaration of Independence and founded a government in which the will of the people should be supreme.

Judge C. C. Goodwin, Salt Lake City, formerly editor Salt Lake Tribune (Republican.)

Unless present signs fail, we do not believe that either the republican or the democratic party will elect more than one president.

There are strong men in every state who have exhausted their thought on how to stop the domination of wealth and its mighty aggregation in a few hands and have decided that the only way to rescue the country and prevent its further falling under the dictation of a few wealthy men and thus establish an aristocracy of wealth is to so adjust matters that money will be a mere convenience and cease to a controlling force.

These men are moving in every state, and the increase in a single year in the Socialist vote is so significant that it points to a social and political revolution in the very near future.

Suppose there should come a government which should decide that the

railroads of the country should be owned by the government, should appraise them and pay for them in government bonds, and then provide for a sinking fund which would in a few years take up the bonds, that then one and another of the public utilities of the country should likewise be absorbed and finally decide that the land, like the water, should be free to all men, and proceed to levy taxes accordingly, is it not clear that in a very few years money would be valueless for any purpose of gain through its use? If a man had a million or ten or a hundred millions of dollars how could he invest it or use it in a way to give him an income from it?

Well, it requires a vote of only 51 per cent of the people to bring this about, and alert men in every state are working to this end.

Hon. Wayne McVeagh, Chicago.

There are few intelligent and honest public men in America today but fully admit that the trend of events is toward Socialism.

The American voter who desires to cast an intelligent vote must study Socialism.

I do insist that our evasion of Socialism is unworthy of American manhood.

From The Boston Globe.

When Rev. C. E. Beals, the pastor of the Second Congregational church, gave his address to the graduating class of the high school, he deliberately placed himself in the ranks of modern Socialism. When Mr. Beals stated, "It is recorded that in one year the Willamantic linen company paid its employes 90 cents a day and declared an 80 per cent dividend," local papers knew very well that he had in mind people in his own church who are securing large dividends and paying small wages. The dividends are not so large as those mentioned by Mr. Beals, and the wages are not as small, but that is the only difference.

The local men are good citizens in the general sense. They are generous supporters of the Second Congregational church, and some of them have subscribed \$300 cash toward the erection of the proposed new parsonage.

In view of these facts, it took courage on the part of Mr. Beals to say what he did. Here are a few sentences that show how keenly Mr. Beals feels: "Is it to be wondered at that discontent is rife? Men deserve to be slaves, if they consent to be slaves, and I believe that the church preaches the wickedest kind of heresy when it says to the workman, 'Submit, be content, in heaven all things will be made right.' Christianity means justice on earth. The condemnation of the existing industrial system is that it brutalizes manhood. Success is measured in dollars. Dividends are of more importance than manhood and character." "The next natural forward step in social evolution will be the transfer of great consolidated industries from trusts and private capitalism to public ownership. Some day the people will own the railroads and the coal mines and all the larger necessary business of the land." Mr. Beals frankly announced that he accepts the Socialist theory and that he intends to vote the Socialist ticket in politics.

Love Comes!

LOVE comes!
 Clear the way, ye institutions, ye laws and customs of
 ages of hate!
 The glance of His eyes would wither you.
 The quiet thrill of His voice would palsy your deepest found-
 ations.

* * *

You do well to tremble at His name, for He is the revolution—
 at last the true, long-deferred Revolution.
 Call upon the mountains to fall upon you and the hills to
 cover you, for, lo, LOVE, the Revolution, comes at last!
 ERNEST CROSBY.

HEAVEN AND HELL

By REV. B. FAY MILLS.



REMEMBER that there was a time when shrinking man was a shivering savage, killed by the cold, smitten by the heat, at the mercy of his fellow wild animals of the forest, destroyed by pestilence and plague, subject to terrible diseases, the very knowledge of which has perished from the earth, brutish sensual, selfish, knowing as this world only the rude surroundings of the region where he was born, living his brief life and dying as the beasts of the field—and this Hell is gone forever.

I remember the ignorance of our ancestors. Simple at first must have been man's words, and yet the simplest language may have been too profound for the need of the expression of his thoughts. We may trace his infantile imaginings regarding himself, the world, the sun, moon, stars and sky. We find his superstitions today unworthy of even the fancy of our little ones, and while we know not as we would, we see the vanishing of the primeval darkness. "We see not yet the full day here, but we do see the paling night."

We look at the moral man of antiquity. We find his passions unrestrained, his appetite indulged without limit, his self-seeking almost unchecked. We see him rejoicing in corruption, glorying in brutality, fighting, killing, torturing and actually eating his fellows, even his own offspring, with no conception of his own value, without the idea of justice, with no dream of social obligation or opportunity, with little conscience, without remorse, with exultation over his proficiency in what now seems his meanness, faithless, hopeless, loveless, believing in Hell, worshipping the devil,—and we cannot find words to express our joy that this Hell is so largely only like a nightmare memory of the past.

Joyfully do we turn our faces the other way. As we consider the pro-

gress and prospect of the human race, we discover our worth from the history of society. We gather up the wisdom of the ages. We mastered the beasts so long ago we have almost forgotten the date and the process. We have conquered the pestilences, we do not shiver in winter, and we protect ourselves from the summer heat. The ground is no longer cursed but is blessed for our sake, and brings forth a thousandfold for every real and imaginary need of man. The storm no longer frightens us and the fire does not appall; we have harnessed them both to do our will. The luxury of yesterday is the squalor of today. The blood of the ancient Orient flows in the veins of the young Occident. The world has become one city; we transfer ourselves about the globe as though we were possessors of Aladdin's lamp. We whisper our thought to the lightning, and it is heard for thousands of miles. The heaven of sufficiency and comfort and righteous luxury for all has already begun its reign on earth.

We have learned how to learn, we have discovered how to discover, we have invented invention. We are wringing answers to all our questions from mind and matter. We have created philosophy and science. We know that in our knowledge we should be as gods to the earliest men, and yet the greatest thing we know is that we shall yet know more. Here, too, has "heaven begun below."

We have developed a conscience. As we learned the value of men, we are now learning the infinite worth of humanity. We no longer bow before the gods and incarnations of the mythologies of the past, important as their symbolism may have been for our ancestors—we will know God for ourselves and not another. We discover "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and God in everything." We are slowly but surely learning to love our neighbors as ourselves, in that we see that human society is one living organization and that we are indeed members one of another. We have fairly stated, at last, what now seems to us the ultimate problem of the race—that we may learn to live each for all and all for each; and if we have not all learned its solution, we have at least apprehended it afar off. We have killed the devil and are filling up Hell. We regard as our greatest glory the apprehension of the glory yet to be.

"Roaming in thought over the universe,
I saw the little that is called good
Steadily hastening toward immortality;
And the vast all that is called evil
Hastening to merge itself and become lost and dead."

I heard Dr. Hale say a year ago that one of the greatest Abolitionists who had fought and almost died to help the slaves to freedom, one who kept a station of the "Underground Railway," was approached recently by his little boy twelve years of ages, and the boy said, "Papa, what is a slave?" His father had almost died to free the slave, and the boy had never heard of one until he was twelve years old, and then had to ask this question. And the day is coming when the boys will look into the faces of their parents and say not only "What is a slave?" but they will say "What is poverty?" "What is injustice?" "What is war?" and the parent shall scarcely find language for adequate description to the child. So, amid the realization of the present and the prophecy of the possible achievement of the future, I believe the call to us today to be nothing less than

on earth the eternal "City of Light." "They that will not fight for this city, what city will they fight for?" Let this great thought purge us from our sensuality, deliver us from our selfishness, and lead us with quenchless faith and holy hope and high endeavor to the realizing in us and through us of the great ideal of love.

"The old times are dead and gone and rotten!
The old thoughts shall never more be thought!
The old faiths have failed and are forgotten!
The old strifes are done, the fight is fought!
And with a clang and roll, the new creation
Bursts forth o'er tears and blood and tribulation!"

OAKLAND, CAL.

THE ROOT OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

By LEONARD D. ABBOTT



THE fundamental blasphemy of our civilization lies in the assumption that it is right and natural for the majority of people in the world to be poor.

What should we think of the biologist who seriously contended that it was normal for the majority of human beings to be deformed? What opinion could we have of the doctor who took the position that it was right and natural for men to be in a chronic condition of disease? And yet these conclusions are not more monstrous than is the point of view of the political economist who publishes learned tomes based on the assumption that it is right that the majority of men

should be poor.

"The poor ye have always with you." How many times has this saying of Christ been made to serve as a buttress for every conservative and careless view of social conditions! Many of us seem really to have persuaded ourselves into the fatalistic conception for which it stands. People argue gravely about the "impossibility" of abolishing poverty,—as if poverty existed in the world as the result of a natural law, such as that which controls the sweep of the tides or the falling of the rain.

Now of course there is no denying that in every age of the world there have been men lazy and spendthrift, men who would always be poor because they lack restraint and prudence, men who squander what they have. Doubtless there will always be such men. But these men are relatively few. They are so few, in proportion to the whole, that they need hardly be taken into account in the present argument. The problem we are considering is not, Do spendthrifts deserve to be poor? but, Is it right that whole classes of men, the majority of men, should be poor?

There exist all around us multitudes of men doing the most useful kind of work that can be done, work which builds the very foundation of our social life and is so necessary that to imagine it stopped is to imagine a world plunged in chaos. They are mining the coal that warms us; growing the food that we eat; fashioning the clothes that we wear; building

the houses that we dwell in. Surely if any men should be comfortable—aye, should be rich—it is these. It may be true that other men are doing more original work, more “intellectual” work, work that requires a rarer type of mind and hands. But this does not at all alter the fact that the manual workers are furnishing the sustenance without which the higher life could not exist for a moment; it cannot blind us to the fact that the workers are the really organic part of society. And yet the incontestible fact remains, that the workers, as a class, are very poor; that when their lives are not utterly squalid, they are stunted and broken; that their environment is such as to shut out not only the beauty of the world in which we live, but also to rob them of all that finer heritage of thought and culture, of aspiration and achievement, which has come down to us through the centuries, and has invested our human life with its dignity and strength.

No thinking man, no man with a consciousness of the integrity of his own manhood and a sense of the duty he owes to his fellows, can possibly acquiesce in social conditions which produce such a result. He is driven into the revolutionary camp by the very deep-seatedness of the evils with which he would grapple. No “reforms,” no superficial nostrums, will eradicate injustice so fundamental as this. We hew a tree at its root, not among the branches. Society is upside down. The obvious thing to do is to turn it rightside up.

The working class is poor because it is dependent on a capitalist class. And the capitalist class is rich because it owns the land and machinery of the world's production. Socialism is simply the proposition that the working class—and all who sympathize with their cause—should take the world out of private hands, and put it into public hands. The evolution of industry, by massing capital in a few hands, is every day making this task an easier one.

When once men decide to take possession of their own property, when once society becomes a unified and organized association, the problem of poverty will vanish. The world contains enough—and much more than enough—for every human being. Nature literally pours its bounty upon us. We simply have not yet learned to live together in a sane way. Socialism will teach men how thus to live. It will end the struggle for mere existence. It will secure the material side of life. It will give us at last the opportunity to take hold of the world and to re-fashion it in glory and beauty that have been visioned, but never realized.

Co-operation, or socialistic effort, instead of abolishing individual effort, necessarily involves and stimulates it, since there can be no collective effort without effort on the part of each member of the combination or organization. Government is but a substitution of collectivism for individualism. It turns the latter into new directions and opens to it new duties and opportunities. In Socialism there may be the most intense competition—to do for the community more than any other individual can do.—MILTON SCOTT LYTLE.

LESSONS IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM*

By Prof. CLARK E. PERSINGER

7. Why American Socialism Hopes For Success



THE history of all democracy is much the same. In the religious and political worlds it may be followed through four stages (1) Intolerance and contempt; (2) Toleration, but with indifference; (3) Discussion and experiment; (4) Gradual acceptance. The progress of democracy in religious and in political life was obstructed by certain classes and with certain arguments. Its success was attained by the development of certain sentiments and tendencies in national life, and through the support of certain well defined classes.

THE PAST AND PRESENT HISTORY OF DEMOCRACY

In the preceding "Lessons" I have sought to make clear the alikeness of the old and the new democratic struggles. I have attempted to show that the same elements which opposed political democracy in times past, now oppose industrial democracy, and that their arguments are but the old ones used again. These classes I have claimed to be modern equivalents of the old-time kings, knights, nobles, and bandits. Their arguments only the "impracticability," the "slavery," the "deadening uniformity" of democracy, either political or industrial. If these things be true—if the issues are the same, the classes for and against similarly arrayed, and the arguments contain nothing alarmingly new—the parallel between the previous and the present democratic movements is more than encouraging; it is prophetic of certain and not distant victory.

THE SUCCESS ALREADY ATTAINED

But there are other grounds of encouragement. Of the above named four stages of progress we have already passed through two, and are well entered upon the third. From intolerance and contempt Socialism has attained to respectful treatment even at the hands of its avowed enemies. From the disfavor of all it has made its gradual way to more or less unconscious, but none the less real belief and acceptance by a large portion of the American people. From suspicion and condemnation it has risen to respect and wide acceptance. Its future is its own. Upon the wisdom and courage of its advocates depends the rapidity of its progress toward the fourth and last stage.

THE TENDENCIES OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE

Yet not even is this all. In our national life has been constantly increasing the recognition of the justness of labor's demands and the evils of the capitalistic regime. This recognition has expressed itself in a three-fold attempt to provide protection for the laborer. On the part of Congress and state legislatures we have had enacted laws demanding factory inspection, defining the amount of a day's labor, and looking toward the healthfulness of the city laborer's home; dead letters, many of them, but yet sig-

*This is the last of Prof. Persinger's valuable articles. The entire series will soon be issued in pamphlet form for propaganda.

nificant of a new public spirit. On the part of the laborer himself we have seen begun and carried to a high point of efficiency two protective measures—labor unions, and mutual insurance associations; the one a protection against the oppression of the employer, the other a defense against undeserved poverty. And even among the people has moved in a moderate way the spirit of alleviation in the "Consumer's League" of eastern cities, pledged to purchase the products of none but well-paid labor.

THE ORGANIZATION OF CHARITY

The labor problem has also brought with it the more rational treatment of the poor. In place of indiscriminate charity, encouraging shiftlessness and excusing the rich from contributions, we have seen the rise of a system of organized and well administered charity, not only discriminating between necessity and pretense, but producing a keen realization of the demoralizing results of "temporary" remedies for permanent evils. More, it has led to the study of practical or applied Sociology, and so produced a scientific study of social conditions most favorable to Socialism.

STEPS TOWARD NATIONALIZATION

In yet another direction is progress most encouragingly evident. The people are beginning to understand that the national life itself is supplying the most unanswerable of arguments in favor of Socialism and in evidence of its practicability. The postal system, the public schools, the development of civil service reform, the increasing control and regulation of trusts, the rapid advance and almost invariable success of municipal ownership—all these are but so many arguments in behalf of Socialism, so many steps toward its attainment.

TENDENCIES OF OUR POLITICAL LIFE

In the political life, also, the growing adoption of Socialistic principles is evident. In the '30's there was "labor" agitation, but no organization. In the '70's the "anti-monopoly" party gave expression to the increasing feeling against capitalistic encroachment. In the '80's "labor parties" voiced this growing protest. In the '90's arose Populism, imparting an anti-capitalistic impulse which has since greatly modified both the older parties. Within a few years has been added a new element—a blending of the voices of native and foreign born citizens, finding expression in the various Socialistic parties of the last three campaigns.

THE RISE OF A POPULAR SOCIALISM

But most encouraging of all is the fact that Socialism has ceased to be merely the abstruse economic and political philosophy of the few, and has become the less precise but tremendously more potent conviction of the many. The older Socialism of scientific scholasticism has given way before the broad and easily understandable principle of *industrial Democracy*—the belief in the right and the capacity of the whole people to attend to the affairs of their industrial life, just as they have so long attended to those of their political life; the intention of the people to disown the regime of industrial kings, as they long ago disowned that of political kings, the prospect of an *industrial* self-government like unto the political self-government with which, whatever the ills it owns, satisfies us better than were ever people satisfied with the rule of priest, or king, or noble.

THE FUTURE

The victory is not won; but it is winning. There is no time for cessa-

tion of effort; but there is ample cause for encouragement. The progress of industrial democracy has been rapid—amazingly rapid of late years. The days just past have been a time of great breaking up of old party lines and passing away of old party issues. The times have been ripening for the heralding of the principles of Socialism, and throughout the length and breadth of the land its gospel is being spread. Today is full of promise. Tomorrow urges greater expectations. The full recognition of industrial democracy may lie yet a generation ahead. It may possibly be distant even farther. But we of the present shall see many long steps taken toward the industrial emancipation of mankind, and the realization of that true and lasting industrial democracy for which American Socialism expends its constant effort.

May the first lesson of Socialism be soon learned—the one important truth, that Socialism is but DEMOCRACY again in new form, ready to impart to American industrial life the blessings it has already bestowed upon religious and political life: an industrial America of the people. for the people, and BY THE PEOPLE.

THE END.

ROBBED

Great God! How can these humans face without the flush of shame these other humans they have robbed.

Do not delude yourself with thought of dollars shining with a silvery sheen;

Do not delude your soul with one suspicion that the gold you have and they have not is meant by me—

Though God Almighty knows (as knows your soul and mine) they have been robbed, robbed, robbed, from first to last, continually and never-endingly robbed, robbed—

Yet were those robberies not the robberies meant.

. * * * * *

Robbed of the tender care a child, just born, should have!

Robbed of the food to fill its nature's need!

Robbed of pure air and sunshine—heritage of all!

Robbed of the songs of birds, perfume of flowers, delight of growth where grass and trees speak ever to the soul of something unattained-- of something somewhere to be sought, and found!

Robbed of a home, and of all chance to know what "Home" should mean and be!

Robbed of the innocence of thought, imagination, word and act he had a right to claim as his!

Robbed! Robbed! Robbed!

Forever robbed, this human stands confronting you and me—

And I am shamed that I have had these things and he has not:

And he has not.

Oh but the hunger by his eyes betrayed must haunt my heart and brain!

Oh but the thing he might have been must now, henceforth and ever more stand clearly in my sight, —condemning me!

Oh but the horror of that contract 'twixt the *is* and *might have been* in his—my brother's—life, must hold dominion,—damning life of mine!

Oh but the knowledge that this cuffed and spat upon small semblance of humanity is multiplied throughout the earth by thousands, thousands, that are now, have been, and on the morrow yet shall still be robbed, robbed, robbed, of earth, sea, air, and every chance to be what man should be, must now compel confronting of the cruel wrong that is!

Robbed; that another might know of earth's best.

Robbed; shall the robbers escape without loss?

We have counted the cost of all thievings; and cash—with the things they obtain through their coinage called "cash"—would be willingly thrown at the feet of the robbed, on a day that shall be, on a day that shall speedily come, if the robbed would acquit the possessors of debt.

Shall a penny now pay for that pinching of soul?

Shall a dollar defray what has damned a whole life?

Shall a thousand teach children whose parent's soul starved?

Shall ten-thousand transform what was bred like a brute and brought forth 'mid all filth to the semblance of a soul that aspires?

Shall a million make this that is human in shape seek and find in a moment what ages denied?

Shall the wealth of the world, if you give it at once, work, a miracle—making his will as a God's?

Ah, you know that it won't, and the debt won't be paid—

Yet, the debt *must* be paid, *as you know*.

* * * * *

In the morning I meet him, the Robbed, making haste,

Making haste to be robbed of his hours, of his strength.

Just at nightfall I meet him, the Robbed, making haste,

Making haste to be robbed as before,—but by others no worse, but as bad.

How the horrible haste he is in to be robbed holds the mirror before us disclosing past days—

Did he think it was more than his substance we filched when he let us defraud him at first?

Did his grandsire go willingly groping in mines without thinking his child, and his children to come, would be stunted in body and brain?

Did his father fling health and the strength of a man for five farthings a day at a rich man's command without thought that his offspring would come forth a fool?

If they did or they didn't, the child has been *robbed*—

And the Robbed is requesting repaying of HIS.

Robbed! And now demanding repayment of his!

And have we aught wherewith to pay?

If we have, Make short shift of the paying, say I:

If we've not, May the God of the Robbed have some mercy on your soul, and mine:

If we've not, *May the Robbed have more mercy than we.*

EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLZ

And as for national government! The most absolute monarchy that ever existed was merely an independent people in comparison with the solidarity of government by a thousand millions of dollars.—JOHN BRISBEN WALKER, Editor "The Cosmopolitan."

NEW THOUGHT AND SOCIALISM

By W. I. GORDON, M. D.

It is to be regretted that these two movements still work separately, the majority of those interested in each knowing little of the principles and aims of the other. The efforts of the two combined would soon bring mankind to realize that the heritage of happiness which nature provides for all can be secured for the benefit of all.

Although working separately the two movements are identical in seeking to abolish disease, crime, want and misery, and substitute health and happiness for all who will work. Both take the ground that no man can be spiritual if half-starved mentally or physically or reared amid unhealthful conditions. They stand for natural rights and the uplifting of society. Together they embrace more for the elevation of man than all other movements of the age. History does not afford a parallel of such significance as is seen in the logical relationship between Socialism and New Thought.

New thought teachings awaken the mind and give clear insight of God's intentions for his children, showing that man's ignorance and selfish laws are alone responsible for sickness and starvation in a land of plenty. They develop a type of individuality which does not require men to be "meek and lowly" when and where that implies submitting to injustice. Socialism points the way to the better social order, educates man to vote for his emancipation and secure an environment conducive to a higher and nobler individuality.

Both of these movements recognize the fact that past teachings and legislation are the cause of the present deplorable conditions. The one seeks to substitute truth for error in the region of thinking; the other seeks to substitute equity for exploitation in the sphere of economics. Both are working toward a New Commonwealth of genuine Christianity.

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SUGGESTION IN THE HEALING ART

By E. T. CAMP, M. D.



It has been clearly demonstrated that the subjective mind has complete control over the functions of the body, and that while in the subjective state it is entirely under the control of the suggestion of the hypnotist. If this be true, it is a logical conclusion that any disease, functional or organic, is susceptible to successful suggestive treatment. Hypnosis has been used very successfully as an anæsthetic both general and local. In good subjects local anæsthesia is one of the easiest of the phenomena produced. Anginas and migraine are readily relieved. Rheumatism is very susceptible to treatment by suggestion. This should be hailed with delight, as it is one of the slowest to yield to the treatment

of drugs.

We all realize the value of suggestion in the care of our patients. Where is the doctor who has not used placebos? You may say this is done in cases where the disease is imaginary. We admit this to be true in many instances, but after all, our imaginary troubles excel our so-called real ones. I insist an imaginary trouble is as difficult to relieve by the use of drugs as a real one; in fact, imaginary disease cannot be cured without the aid of suggestion. You have to disabuse the mind of the patient of the existence of any disease, or inspire his implicit confidence in your ability to cure him before you will be able to cure him. In either case it is suggestion. In the latter instance you may use drugs, but they are only auxiliary and would have no effect minus the confidence. Suggestion is the keynote to the success of all, or most all, the patent nostrums that marvelous cures are attributed to daily. If it was not for this fact we would not note the marvelous financial success of the patent medicine man. Take away what marvelous things he claims his nostrum will do, and which the patient accepts as true, and you would find but few remedies on the market.

When the practical importance of mental influence becomes more generally recognized, physicians will be

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obliged to acknowledge that psychology is as important, if not more so, in the cure of disease than physiology. When this is accomplished, a great step will be made in the etiology of disease, as well as the cure. It will be the basis of a rational treatment of all diseases, especially those of the narcotic nature, the latter being very slightly benefited by the use of drugs.

Suggestion is not only the key to the origin and aggravation of disease, but it also explains the action of drugs in many instances. If medicines have a different effect when prescribed by different doctors, we must admit it is due to psychical causes. It is true, in many instances, it is an unconscious suggestion, but nevertheless it is suggestion.

Suggestion as a therapeutic agent will outlive many remedies whose praises fill the columns of medical literature of today. It has stood the crucial test of time longer than any drug as a therapeutic agent. The history of a large majority of the drugs that have been introduced during the history of medicine shows that one is discarded and others taken in its stead. No one claims even any particular branch of medicine to be a perfect science, and every one knows almost all the investigations and advances made in medical science have been from a material standpoint and to the neglect of the psychic side of the question.

I do not contend that there is no such thing as matter and that disease exists only in the mind, but call attention to the psychic influence in the etiology of diseases, as well as its potentiality as a factor in the healing art. The evidences of the truthfulness of this proposition are to be seen every day by the most casual observer. To fail or refuse to see them is to shut our eyes to staring facts and "live in a fool's paradise."

Nuggets

The Ideal is the true Son of God.—KANT.

Sincerity is the way to heaven.—CONFUCIUS.

What am I but an idea? Spirit?—WALT WHITMAN.

What is the hardest task in the world? To think.—EMERSON.

If there is anything that will not bear free thought, let it crack.—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

He that will not reason is a bigot.
He that cannot reason is a fool.
He that dares not reason is a slave.
—DRUMMOND

All truth is one and universal, and does not depend on any book or any person.—H. W. DRESSER.

It is faith in something, and enthusiasm for something, that makes a life worth looking at.—HOLMES.

Never explain, never retract, never apologize—get the thing done and let them howl.—BENJAMIN JOWETT.

If your wagon won't hitch to a star,—that isn't the fault of the star.—BOLTON HALL.

All truth is safe and nothing else is safe; and he who keeps back truth or withholds it from men, from motives of expediency, is either a coward or a criminal, or both.—MAX MULLER.

Our ignorance is the cause of our suffering. If we only knew the good old universe, and knew our own powers, we could abolish poverty and every social hell.—J. STITT WILSON.

Be happy over something every day, for the brain is a thing of habit, and you cannot teach it to be happy in a moment if you allow it to be miserable for years.—ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

Let the parsons, who make for themselves a cruel and barbarous God, be eternally damned, as they desire and deserve; and let those parsons, who conceive God gentle and merciful, enjoy the plenitude of his mercy!—FREDERICK THE GREAT.

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BOOKS WORTH READING

Reviewed by RALPH W. ALBERTSON



OUR BENEVOLENT FEUDALISM. By W. J. Ghent. Published by the MacMillan Company, New York. Price 25 cents

This book has already passed through several editions and is today being more widely read than when a year ago it created something of a sensation on its first appearance. It is written in a most dispassionate way, but not without an evident purpose. To one in the habit of reading on social topics the table of contents has no charm, but the charm is here for in no other of so serious a moral purpose and so wide a social outlook have I discovered such deep, well-balance and thoroughly enjoyable humor.

He portrays the society in which we live. The present civilization is on the highway to a benevolent feudalism. There are the barons, who are graded on the basis of possessions. Then come the court retainers and agents; then workers in pure and applied science, artists and physicians; then the managers of great industries; then foremen and superintendents; then skilled workers; and finally the unskilled. These are gradually becoming fixed in regular classes, and beginning to know their "station," and the feudal system of ownership, possession and government is emerging out of the chaos of a decaying democracy. And all of this is told in a matter-of-fact way, with a wealth of references and quotations, so that when the book is finished one is inclined to wonder why other people are not alive to the consequences of our present inequitable way of disbursing the wealth of the people and

allotting out the gifts of nature.

There has been much debate among the critics as to whether Mr. Ghent were in earnest. In his preface to the third edition, however, this doubt is removed for the author declares that escape from baronial dominance "can come only by a collective determination to secure the democratic ownership and operation of industry." This book of Mr. Ghent's is easily the book of the day on the social problem, and will awaken many to social reform by its radical sanity.

HOW TO TRAIN CHILDREN AND PARENTS. By Elizabeth Towne. Published by the author. Price 25 cents. For Sale by The Vanguard Press.

Mrs. Towne's treatment of this very important subject is one of the clearest, truest, and sanest I have ever read. It is the most practical application of "new thought" to a life-relationship I have seen. The motherhood which she holds up is a great, strong, divine ideal so sublimely superior to the littlenesses that fret and irritate and yet so thoro and self-contained that when I try to tell you about it is seems to go into the realm of the visionary and unattainable, but when Mrs. Towne tells it to you it seems the most practical thing in the world. Right here is her great forte. She makes you know that you can do and be the transcendent thing she writes about, and she doesn't so much as know that it is transcendent. You seem to hear her talking over the back yard fence, and feel at home with her sublimities.

SOCIALIST SONGS. Compiled by Charles H. Kerr. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Price 20 cents. For sale by The Vanguard Press.

Every person who has been engaged at all in meetings of progressive churches, clubs or associations of any kind has shared in the feeling of the need for appropriate and singable music. Only a very few song books have been issued of an extremely radical nature such as the one before us, and it is safe to say that it is practically alone in the field that is occupied. Several of these songs are set to familiar music, and with but one or two exceptions they are singable. Every Socialist club and labor union can add to the pleasantness and charm of its meetings by the use of this little book.

Literary Notes

Warren's Monthly for September comes to hand with 16 full page clever cartoons by Ryan Walker, four of them printed in colors. Its 20 large pages portray the robbery and heartlessness of capitalism in a startling and convincing fashion. The price is ten cents a copy. In case your dealer does not handle it, send a dime for the current issue, to the Coming Nation, Rich Hill, Mo.

Of the many New Thought papers that come to our desk none is more welcome than Elizabeth Towne's bright little monthly. We always read it with eagerness and are refreshed by its abounding life, optimism, humor and good sense. Everybody would be made stronger and happier by the visits of The Nautilus, Holyoke, Mass. 50 cents a year.

The "Coming Nation" offers subscriptions from now until the election of the first Socialist President for \$1.25 "Two million votes for Socialism in 1904 and a Socialist President in 1908" is the slogan of the comrades at Rich Hill, Mo., and they are putting forth splendid efforts to achieve this glorious result. Their plan of campaign is to build and equip 200 agitation vans, each van to be in charge of two Socialist speakers, loaded with literature and put into the field as rapidly as possible. For every 25 000 new names added to their list The Coming Nation will provide and maintain a van. The proposal is being received with much enthusiasm and already the sixth van is in sight.



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Socialist Siftings

"Will not Socialism destroy ambition?"

Not unless a man will work harder and with more interest in what he does when he gets a small part of what he produces than when he gets it all.—SOCIALIST TEACHER.

President Roosevelt's view in regard to large families is all right if he will only give us a tangible solution to the problem of finding the wherewithal to keep 'em after we've got 'em. Most of us have the divine right to get 'em, but only the Baer right to keep 'em.—THE AMERICAN CO-OPERATOR.

Socialism might have been an "iridescent dream" once upon a time, but, judging from a few remarks dropped by Mr. Hanna, it is seemingly assuming the proportions of a large and full-sized nightmare for that gentleman.—ERIE PEOPLE.

Would you study Ingersoll's writings to gain an understanding of the ethics of Christianity? Why then study republican campaign literature to gain an understanding of the philosophy of Socialism?

—COMING NATION.

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